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REMARKS

ON

Mr. WALPOLE's Catalogue

OF THE

Royal and Noble Authors of ENGLAND;

With a List of their Works.

IN WHICH

Many of his Cenſures and Arguments are examined and diſproved;

His falſe Principles are confuted and *true ones* eſtabliſhed;

Several material Facts are ſet in a true Light,

And the Characters and Conduct of ſeveral crown'd Heads, and Others are vindicated.

PART the FIRST.

Read me with Candor, and you then will find
The Friend of Truth, of Kings, and of Mankind.

LONDON:

Printed for N. GIBSON, Bookſeller in *St. Alban's-Street* near *St. James's Square*, and W. RUSSELL near *Temple-Bar*. 1759.

[Price One Shilling.]

10

In a few Days will be publiſh'd,

WALPOLIAN PRINCIPLES

Expoſed and Confuted.

[Price Six-pence.]

N. B. The Introduction may be had ſeparate by thoſe who buy this.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

To the READER.

IT is a rule in equity, that a general charge of fraud, *&c.* is ſufficiently anſwered by a general denial, and if the ſame method prevailed in judging of the writings of authors, there would be little occaſion for taking notice of many of the ſevere cenſures this author paſſes on crowned heads, and others; and that often without the leaſt proof, or with ſuch as ſhould be below a man of ſenſe to offer, or a wiſe or good man to pay any regard to.

But it being well known, That

On eagles wings, immortal ſcandals fly,
Whilſt virtuous actions are but born and dye.

It ſeems a piece of juſtice to the living, who may right themſelves, to clear them from ſcandals; and to be the bounden duty of every generous mind, to vindicate the momories of the dead, who are not able to ſpeak for themſelves; particulaaly of the great, the virtuous, and the unfortunate; eſpecially if ſuch calumnies are apparently deſigned to promote falſe principles and wicked practices, tending to the deſtruction of

our

our conſtitution, the hazarding our liberties and properties, and the introducing of anarchy and confuſion into the Three Kingdoms.

The nature of this undertaking makes it ſcarce poſſible to preſerve any great order, in ſo many miſcellaneous affairs; or entirely to avoid mentioning ſome things which may perhaps appear of no great moment, but I have generally declined what is trivial, and digeſted the reſt in the beſt manner I could, and have taken the liberty to inſert ſuch remarks, obſervations and facts, as I hope may be *agreeable and uſeful* to the reader; theſe (the *utile dulci*) being the beſt things an author can deſign, or a reader deſire.

And if the reader finds the truth of what is here mentioned, made good in what follows, I doubt not but I ſhall meet with his approbation, and that he will think that I have acted as becomes a true lover of our country, a ſincere believer of the Chriſtian religion, and with a univerſal benevolence to all mankind *.

REMARKS

* *I have chiefly uſed Mr. Humes's hiſtory becauſe the Whigs cannot object to his notions about liberty; but he regards truth and decency, which few do.*

REMARKS,

ON

Mr. WALPOLE's Catalogue

OF

Royal and Noble Authors.

THE indecent manner in which this author treats ſo many of the crowned heads and nobles of the kingdom, without any apparent neceſſity for it, is very unbecoming the character of a *true Engliſhman*, or *real gentleman*, and deſerves ſuch a cenſure as I am not willing to give it.

For in *a Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors with a Liſt of their Works*, can there be either neceſſity or juſtice to bring in the frailties of the lives of the writers, and of others; and to charge them with the greateſt crimes, and blackeſt villainies, without the leaſt proof, or taking any notice of what has been, or may be juſtly offered to extenuate their failings, or in defence of their conduct, and not ſo much as once mention their good qualities, and eminent virtues.

Crom-well. Now if ſuch a Procedure be juſt, and we ſhould conſider Cromwell only in his ſpeeches and writings, we muſt conclude him to be a wild enthuſiaſt or downright madman *.

And was this author's great relation to be drawn in the light in which his enemies have painted him, or viewed only in his private conduct about Mrs. *S——t* and the *baſtard lady daughter*, his monſtrous expenſive houſe, and the perplexities in which he left his family and creditors, and theſe many days expoſed in chancery, and probably to be kept there as many years as he continued prime miniſter. In the former light he would be eſteemed a very wicked perſon, and in the latter, ſo far from appearing a *great man*; that he would certainly be taken for a very *great fool*; it appearing in court that Haughton Hall was already become a ruinous monument of its builder's weakneſs and vanity †.

* *See as to this Dr.* Smollet's *Hiſt.* Vol. V. 8vo.

† *It was ſaid in court, that it coſt* 100000 l. *and now would coſt* 20000 l. *to repair it; that his debts were* 46000 l. *and his perſonalty (excluſive of his pictures) but* 24000 l. *that he ſubjected* 300 l. per ann. *which was come to him to his debts; and the court ſubjected to his creditors the houſes and legacies given to his ſons, and many of the things intended for his favourite daughter Lady Mary.*

I pre-

I preſume this author will not allow ſuch a repreſentation as a juſt ground to fix the above characters on theſe two whig heroes; and ſure his own behaviour in relation to Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Elizabeth is much more criminal.

Mary Queen of Scots.

For without any ſeeming neceſſity or temptation he charges the former with all the infamous crimes, the ingrateful and wicked Buchanan, or her rebel enemies have forged or collected, and that without the leaſt proof to ſupport it, or notice of what has been offered to prove her innocence, as to the death of her huſband, or of her knowledge who were the perſons guilty of it, and without once mentioning the barbarous treatment ſhe met with at home and abroad, the magnanimity with which ſhe bore her many years impriſonment; her moving letter to Queen Elizabeth, or her Chriſtian behaviour at her death.

This author indeed ſays *; "She had the misfortune to be born in the ſame age, in the ſame iſland with, and to be handſomer than Elizabeth: Mary had the weakneſs to ſet up a claim to a greater kingdom than her own, without an army; and was at laſt reduced by her crimes to be a ſaint in a religion, which was oppoſite to what her rival preferred out of policy."

* Vol. II. p. 203.

But ſure her being born and being handſomer than Elizabeth cannot come under the denomination of her crimes; nor her claiming her right, though ſhe had not an army to ſupport it; eſpecially ſince ſhe when ſole declared ſhe never would diſturb Queen Elizabeth, and was willing to enter into any engagements for that purpoſe.

And as to his ſaying, "ſhe was reduced by "her crimes to be a ſaint," ſuch a ridiculous remark could proceed from none but a very *ſimple ſinner*.

The charging her with killing her huſband and knowingly marrying his murderer has been ſo often confuted, that nothing but weak or wicked partiality could repeat them, without taking ſome notice of what has been offered in her defence; and this author muſt know, that whoever charges a crime on another ought to produce ſome proof of it (which he does not) or elſe he may juſtly be condemned as a *falſe accuſer*.

The afflictions brought on this princeſs by pretended Chriſtians and profeſſed Proteſtants muſt give us the utmoſt abhorrence of ſuch principles as could offer to juſtify ſuch wicked proceedings; and the death inflicted on her who was an independent queen, by a pretended friend, near relation, and

queen,

queen, profeſſing Chriſtianity, is ſuch a blemiſh as all the glories of Queen Elizabeth's long reign could never atone for.

But that the reader may be able to form a juſt idea of that unfortunate queen, I ſhall mention the ſubſtance of what is ſaid of her by ſome of our beſt hiſtorians.

The character of Mary Queen of Scots.

This princeſs allowed her ſubjects a toleration, diſturbed no body on the ſcore of conſcience, and governed with remarkable clemency.

Cambden gives her the commendation of a pious princeſs, that ſhe had an invincible greatneſs of mind, that ſhe was a very fine perſon and extraordinarily qualified for the functions of government. And another author adds; in general, it may be ſaid, her fortitude and devotion were very remarkable. She ſupported her character with all imaginable decency, and ſhe died like a Chriſtian and Queen *.

Dr. Robertſon in his late hiſtory clears her as to Rizio, and concludes her character in theſe words, p. 151. "No one, (ſays Brentome) "ever beheld her perſon without admiration and "love, or will read her hiſtory without ſorrow."

But

* *Collier.*

Q. Elizabeth.

But what ſeems full as ſurpriſing in this author is, that without the leaſt occaſion then given for it, he in the moſt ſpiteful and malicious manner, introduces the glorious Queen Elizabeth as profeſſing the Proteſtant religion only *out of policy*.

Tho' he himſelf aſſures us *, "That in the "early part of her life, when her ſituation was "precarious and adverſity her lot or her proſpect, "ſhe applied much to literature, and made great "progreſs in ſeveral languages;—and her inge-"nious evaſions of a captious theologic queſtion is "ſtill more and deſervedly applauded."

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what that word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Now if this princeſs when confined in the Tower and ruggedly treated, charged as concerned in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion; and ſome bigotted Papiſts † threatened her afreſh and cried out, 'that neither religion, the queen, nor the kingdom could be ſecure as long as this princeſs was in being."

* Vol. I. p. 30. † *Collier*.

Now

Now if at a time of ſuch danger ſhe made any ſtand in behalf of the Proteſtant principles, it is a good proof that ſhe ſincerely believed them, for few who act only on principles of policy will embrace a cauſe in diſtreſs; and it would be highly uncharitable not to believe a ſufferer for his principles to be ſincere in his profeſſion, whatever we may think of the goodneſs of his cauſe.

Beſides, we muſt have a poor opinion of the goodneſs of the Proteſtant cauſe, ſo much as to ſuſpect a princeſs ſo qualified as ſhe was to be influenced by policy in it, and not by her own good judgment, when all reſtraints were removed and ſhe left at liberty to chuſe her religion; and that the reader may the better judge of her capacities I ſhall mention, in ſhort, what is ſaid of them by our beſt writers.

Queen Elizabeth's *Character.*

She ſeems formed by nature and education for the greatneſs ſhe was born to; was furniſhed with learning, ſenſe, and courage to an unuſual degree; ſpoke Latin, French and Italian with eaſe and propriety, and underſtood Greek and Latin. Her politics were carried to the furtheſt improvements, ſhe knew how to govern her dominions, as well as to guard them, and never ſuffered her people, either without doors or within, to grow upon

upon the prerogative. She never burthened the country with unneceſſary taxes, and that which was given was conſtantly applied to the public benefit; and had the intereſt of her ſubjects lain wholly in this world, few princes would have left their memory better recommended.

Queen Anne.

We come now to what this author ſays of Queen Anne, where the loweſt ſpite and malice appear in him, to lug in without any ſeeming temptation or propriety, under the account of the writings of Henry the VIIIth, the pitiful reflection of the *weak head of high-church* Anne.

If that good natur'd * queen had treated her, and the enemies of her houſe with half the ſeverity they deſerved, and which Queen Elizabeth would certainly have uſed; in all probability your great

* *By* good-natured *here*; *that ſweetneſs of diſpoſition is meant which an ingenious author obſerves to be ſo expreſſive, that no other language can reach the full ſenſe of them*; *like* ſimplex munditiis *in Horace, which I think Milton would expreſs by*—*plain in her neatneſs. Another inſtance of this kind in the ſame anthor is: Vultus nimium lubricus aſpici*; *which Sir John Suckling ſeems to deſcribe in theſe lines*;

But Dick her eyes ſo guard her face
I can no more upon them gaze
Than on the ſun in July.

great relation, if ever he had come out of the tower, would have been exalted to a ſtation widely different from that of *prime miniſter*.

And as this princeſs is thus brought in by this author, I doubt not but the reader will approve of my inſerting her character as given by Dr. Smollet, and the adding a few particulars meriting our approbation of her conduct, and our gratitude to her memory.

Queen Anne's *Character*.

Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; the virtues of her heart were never called in queſtion; ſhe was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity; a tender mother; a warm friend; an indulgent miſtreſs; a munificent patron; a mild and merciful princeſs, *during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon*. She was zealouſly attached to the church of England, from conviction rather than prepoſſeſſion, unaffectedly pious, juſt, charitable and compaſſionate. She felt a mother's fondneſs for her people, by whom ſhe was univerſally beloved with a warmth of affection, which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was certainly one of the beſt and moſt unblemiſhed ſovereigns that ever ſat

ſat upon the throne of England; and well deſerved the expreſſive, though ſimple epithet of

The good Queen Anne.

To which I ſhall only add two of Mr. Pope's lines after the peace:

Rich induſtry ſits ſmiling on the plains,
And peace and plenty tell a Stuart *reigns.*

And whoever has a real eſteem for the excellent Church of England, will duly revere the memory of that queen, who had ſo ſincere a value for it; and every true lover of our country will with equal gratitude remember, her being in reality what ſhe declared herſelf to be in her ſpeech from the throne;

Entirely Engliſh.

Though this then gave great offence to many of the violent Whigs; and whoever prefers our monarchy, our native intereſts, and excellent Church to all others, is ſure to make moſt of the Whigs his implacable enemies.

I ſhall only add, that Queen Anne gave two hundred thouſand pounds a year out of her ſettled income, moſt of which was applied for the eaſe

of

of the heavy taxes her ſubjects then laboured under.

And whenever this author, or any other can produce ſimilar inſtances of love of our church, our native country, or of our people in all or any of theſe particulars, either in his Proteſtant Hero, or any other than a Stuart king, the diſcoverer will deſerve a principal ſeat in his Temple of Fame, and ſuch a king will juſtly deſerve the applauſe of the whole nation.

This author's behaviour to three ſuch queens ſhews, that he knows little of his own heart, or is greatly defective in judgment to pretend in his preface that he has "written with the utmoſt "impartiality towards all perſons and parties, and "that it would be unpardonable (as it certainly "is) to have a bias in a mere litterary narrative:" and to practiſe ſo directly contrary in relation to theſe queens, and almoſt in every page where he mentions a Stuart king, as will hereafter fully appear.

As to the tales he tells of Queen Elizabeth's amours, whether true or falſe, they are little to our purpoſe, and not at all to what he pretends to be the true deſign of his books; but they ſerve to blacken a crowned head, which is the high delight of a republican.

However,

However * he does not omit doing juſtice to ſeveral of the fair ſex; mentions Queen Catherine Parr with great reſpect, as learned and virtuous, and quotes authors who ſay, that it was common then to ſee queens and ladies of moſt high eſtate and progeny to embrace virtuous exerciſes, and to apply themſelves to the acquiring of knowledge, as well in all other liberal arts and diſciplines, and alſo moſt eſpecially of God and his moſt holy word.

And that the famous Earl † Rivers in his tranſlating the dicts and ſayings of the philoſophers, being the firſt or ſecond book printed by Caxton here in 1477, omitted to tranſlate part of it becauſe it contained ſarcaſms of Socrates againſt the fair ſex: and that Pope Nicholas the Vth patronized printing; and the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, then on the throne of Rome by the name of Pius the Second, encouraged learning by his munificence and example.

He alſo mentions ſeveral other ladies and their extraordinary qualities. But calls Lady Jane Gray *the faireſt ornament of her ſex:* but in a long note ſhews that ſhe had no right to the crown as there were ſo many nearer in blood to it, which would influence us to believe that this gentle-

* P. 27. † P. 75.

gentleman thought the hereditary right the then undoubted right; though he is pleaſed to ridicule it in other places. But we have not a word of the modern depoſing a monarch on account of the difference of religion, or for the ſake of expediency, which might have been then offered againſt Queen Mary, and which is ſo much inſiſted on by this author.

But this excellent lady, then very young, tho' influenced by an old crafty courtier to conſent to thoſe meaſures, yet was ſoon ſenſible of her miſtake, and in her dying ſpeech "ſhe owned herſelf guilty, not that ſhe had graſped at the crown, but becauſe that ſhe had not refuſed the offer. And thus her misfortune might be a warning to poſterity that innocent meaning is not a ſufficient excuſe for diſturbing the public; and that thoſe who reſigned to other people's ambition helped to fill up their ſchemes, and are drawn into unlawful practices though againſt their will, have a great deal to anſwer for *."

Thus far of the learned ladies of that age; how far thoſe of this age may equal them in thoſe reſpects

Thoſe that ſet up her title, make the Lady Jane's title to ſtand upon a bottom of deſcent, and the plea of the right line. *Collier*, p. 333.

* *Godwin's Annals.*

reſpects I will not pretend to ſay; but poſterity will have but a mean idea of the learning of the men, when the prime miniſter could not truly repeat a common verſe in Horace, and another in a very exalted ſtation ſcarce ever ſpoke Latin in court, but he ſhewed the groſſeſt ignorance of the Latin tongue *.

Eſpecially if we could believe (what this author very candidly inſinuates) that many of the † honourable houſe cannot ſign their own names; and what others ſuggeſt, that there are more there who can only ſay *Aye* or *No*, as bid to ſpeak by their commanders.

And ſuch perſons in ſuch ſtations puts me in mind of a ſevere reflection on our conſtitution in Gulliver's travels; that there is not one moral virtue neceſſary for the higheſt poſt in the kingdom.

CHAP.

* *The blunder of the former in quoting a noted line in Horace wrong in the Houſe of Commons is well known, and mentioned by Dr. Smoellet:—he repeated it:*

Nil conſcire ſibi nulli *palleſcere culpa.*

Whereas it is Ep. 1. ad Macænatem.

Nil conſcire ſibi nulla *palleſcere culpa.*

And Gripus's frequent blunders in this kind are too well known to need particular mentioning.

† Vol. II. P. 111.

CHAP. II.

Chiefly about Lord Falkland.

HAVING paid our duty to the memory of three great, but much injured queens, and due reſpect to ſeveral excellent ladies, with a few obſervations, which we hope may be uſeful; we ſhall now deſcend from the crown to the coronet, and ſhall give the preference to Lucius Cary Lord Falkland, the intimate friend and particular favourite of the learned, ingenious and candid Earl of Clarendon, and the particular object of the ſpite and malice of the very little ſo qualified Horatio Walpole, Eſq;

Now, is there either juſtice, candor or propriety, whilſt you are ſpeaking of this nobleman as an author, to repreſent King Charles as a tyrant, Lord Clarendon as a faulty hiſtorian, and Lord Falkland *as indubitably a weak man*, and theſe cenſures not inferred from his writings, which were the proper ſubjects under conſideration; but from your own ſilly queſtions, trifling arguments or party rage; or to uſe your own words, "What I ſhall be willing to call great infatuation."

For

For under the pretence of an account of this lord's writings, this author brings in ſuch a variety of truths and falſhoods, impertinent queſtions, inconſiſtent arguments and wicked principles as were ſcarce ever jumbled together, in ſo ſhort a compaſs; but as they are of great conſequence, both to private perſons and the public; I ſhall make them the chief ſubject of my preſent conſideration.

Now this gentleman aſſures us, * "That it is certain, that the ingenious Mr. Hume, has ſhewn, that both King James and King Charles acted upon precedents of prerogative which they found eſtabliſhed."

And if this be not a full juſtification both of King James and King Charles it will be hard to conceive that any words can be ſo.

Notwithſtanding which plain declaration, this author at the ſame time charges King Charles with all his unjuſt and uſurping pretenſions, and that Lord Falkland oppoſed him for breaking the law †, that

Mr. Hume has much ſtronger words on this head, which will be after-mentioned; but as this author only quotes theſe, I ſhall argue only from theſe.

* Vol. II. P. 217. † Ibid.

that his lordſhip had felt the king's tyranny, and gives that as a reaſon why his lordſhip muſt not join the king; though no one act of tyranny is mentioned, and he himſelf ſays, that Mr. Hume ſhews that the king acted according to the then eſtabliſhed conſtitution, which ſurely muſt be according to the then laws of the land.

So that unleſs this author will call the monarchy itſelf a tyranny here is a plain inconſiſtency.

Again, this gentleman further aſſures us, "That thoſe patriots (Hampden, Pym, &c.) did not attack King Charles ſo much for violation of the law, as to oblige him to ſubmit to the amendment of it.

He had juſt before declared, the king acted according to the prerogative; and then he did not *violate the law*; ſtrange inconſiſtency.

Now the uſual cry of the Whigs has been, that King Charles ſet up unjuſt claims, contrary to law; and that theſe pretended patriots only deſigned to keep him within the limits of the law; and never intended to incroach on his juſt rights and legal prerogative, but now we are told, that theſe patriots would *oblige him to the amendment of them*.

Which was in reality, to deprive him of his own private eſtate, to bring down the prerogative as low as they pleaſed, and to mould the government into what ſhape and form they liked; which at laſt they did, to the deſtruction of the monarchy, the abolition of the houſe of Lords, the ruin of the church; and that with the greateſt invaſion of the liberties and properties of the people that were ever known in the kingdom; theſe celebrated Whig-patriots having exerciſed more acts of tyranny in a few months, than all the Stuarts have done ever ſince they came to the Engliſh crown. *

And this author's ingenious Mr. Hume informs us, "That there then was a party that was reſelved to reduce the prerogative, and that under "pretence of redreſſing grievances, which during "this ſhort reign (ſoon after the king's coming to "the crown) could not be many, they were to "proceed in regulating and controlling every part "of government which diſpleaſed them, and if "the king either cut them ſhort in this undertaking, or refuſed † compliance with their demands, he muſt lay his account with the want "of all ſupply."

And

* *See Smollet*, p. 84. † *Ibid.*

And in reality, the whole of the diſpute between the king and the then Whigs, turns on this ſingle point.

Whether the king and his friends are to be juſtly blamed for *inſiſting on*, and *acting* according to *the then eſtabliſhed laws of the land.*

Or whether theſe pretended patriots had a right *to oblige them to amend the laws* as they pleaſed.

And, if they had no ſuch right by our conſtitution, then they and their conduct ought to be branded with eternal infamy.

Now there were two periods of time, when the Whigs rode triumphant at the revolution; and at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, and notwithſtanding all the conceſſions which had been made by King Charles I. and Charles II. I challenge this Author, to find in all thoſe debats, any authority or law of the conſtitution, to juſtify and ſupport ſuch a right, as he would ſet up to authorize ſuch patriots, to oblige the king to amend the laws; but the direct contrary to it, appears on the whole of thoſe ſolemn debates, and almoſt in every ſpeech, and every page, particularly in that of Sir Joſeph Jekyll, one of the celebrated Whig managers.

And how near to treaſon, the ſetting up ſuch a right as this author does, is, I will not pretend to ſay, but dare undertake to prove, that ſuch a power is repugnant to our conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the monarchy, and would be of fatal conſequences to every government.

Now this author's great argument is, That ſuppoſing the rights and prerogatives of the crown, were ſuch as the king and his friends aſſerted and acted according to.

Yet will this neither juſtify them, nor Lord Falkland.

If it would wherever tyranny is eſtabliſhed by law, it ought to be ſacred and perpetual *.

But this ſevere cenſurer of the writings and opinions of his ſuperiors, is certainly very unhappy in his own way of thinking, or manner of expreſſing himſelf.

For it is not true, that becauſe *tyranny* is eſtabliſhed by law, that therefore it *ought* to be ſacred and perpetual.

For

* Sanderſon, Vol. II. p. 216.

For no tyranny in any kind *ought* to be *ſacred* and *perpetual* for any reaſon.

And all wiſe and good men will endeavour by all juſtifiable methods, to *aboliſh* any ſuch tyranny, however eſtabliſhed, which they would not attempt, if it was *ſacred*, or muſt be *perpetual*, if not altered by their doing wrong to mend it.

But I believe we muſt be obliged to allow this learned gentleman, the ſame privilege, honeſt Sancho Panco deſired, not to regard what his words were, if we can but underſtand his meaning.

And then to make any ſenſe of his argument, it muſt be ſtated to the following purport.

Wherever tyranny is eſtabliſhed by law, it muſt be *ſacred* and *perpetual*, except ſuch patriots as he mentions, have a right to force, or *oblige* an amendment of it.

I ſhewed before, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment does not make tyranny *ſacred*, and now I anſwer that there is no neceſſity for ſuch tyranny's being *perpetual*, unleſs his or any ſuch patriots, have a right to oblige an amendment of it.

Becauſe plain fact is to the contrary.

For all the tyranny in church and ſtate, which he charges as eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. was peaceably remedied (without any ſuch proceedings of ſuch pretended patriots) by that queen and family: he ſo vilely abuſes the glorious Queen Elizabeth, and the *merciful* family of the *Stuarts*.

And what is here offered, I take to be a direct and full anſwer to his argument, and to all that he points at in ſeveral parts of his book; as to this particular.

CHAP. III.

Of the Earl of Clarendon.

WHAT is before-mentioned is, I preſume, a ſufficient juſtification of this noble author, in regard to the character and conduct of Lord Falkland; and I ſhall now proceed to the other objections made to his hiſtory by this author, who ſays *:

" His

* Vol. II. p. 21.

"His capital fault is, his whole work being a "laboured juſtification of King Charles. No "man ever delivered ſo much truth with ſo little "ſincerity. If he relates faults, ſome palliating "epithet always ſlides in, and he has the art of "breaking his darkeſt ſhades with gleams of "light that take off all impreſſions of horror."

Now here it may not be improper briefly to mention what the duty of an hiſtorian is; and it is generally agreed

That he ought to ſtate facts truly.

And ſome perſons would have no more.

But other more judicious perſons think, that the hiſtorian ought, or at leaſt may be allowed to make proper obſervations and uſeful remarks on facts, in order to promote virtue and religion, and deter the readers from ſuch principles and crimes which may be fatal to himſelf or to the peace and quiet of mankind; the promoting of theſe being the great uſe of hiſtory. Eſpecially ſuch writers as had an opportunity of being practically as well as ſpeculatively acquainted with the ſubjects on which they write, as Cæſar, Clarendon and Raleigh.

And this is the practice of moſt hiſtorians, and as they are preſumed to be better verſed in affairs of this nature than moſt of their readers, ſuch reflections, if properly made, muſt certainly be very beneficial to thoſe who peruſe them.

Now in theſe particulars the reader cannot be properly ſaid to be deceived; ſince he himſelf may judge whether the arguments and obſervations mentioned by the hiſtorian naturally flow, or may be fairly deduced from the facts, the principles or practices they are drawn from.

And if we examine the noble hiſtorian by all, or any of theſe rules, I apprehend he will be found *not guilty*.

Now this author does not ſo much as hint, that the hiſtorian either miſrepreſents or miſ-ſtates facts, but ſeems to own his ſincerity and probity as to this *main point* of a good hiſtorian.

And as to the charge of his juſtifying the king, if what the hiſtorian ſays be true, can it be a crime to juſtify the conduct of ſuch a king, and one ſo much injured?

And as to the noble hiſtorian's obſervations or reflections on the facts he mentions, this author does

does not mention any one that is falſe, weak, or abſurd.—And to a general unſupported charge, a general anſwer of *not guilty*, would in all courts be allowed as a ſufficient *plea*.

Does Lord Clarendon juſtify the conduct of King Charles as this author does that of his own father, by ſaying *, "Sixteen unfortunate and inglorious years ſince his removal have already written his Elogium."

Does the hiſtorian juſtify his maſter as this author would his *divine* Somers, † unjuſtifiably taking grants from the crown, becauſe in no proportion to other gains in that reign.

Or does Lord Clarendon excuſe the worſt of King Charles's miſtakes as weakly as Biſhop Burnet does King William's maſſacre at Glenco; by pretending that he oft had many papers brought to ‡ him together, which he ſigned without minding what they were; though the biſhop ſhows at the ſame time that there was a premeditated deſign to maſſacre ſix thouſand perſons in cold blood, and that King William ſigned two warrants for that purpoſe, the firſt not being thought ſufficient.

And

* Vol. II. p. 138. † Ibid. p. 108, *Note*.
‡ *Burnet*, Vol. IV. p. 170.

And till ſome criminal excuſe offered for the King, by the noble hiſtorian be produced, the reader muſt ſurely acquit him of this article laid to his charge.

Mr. Hume ſpeaking of this point *, candidly ſays, "He is more partial in appearance than in reality, for he ſeems perpetually anxious to apologize for the king. But his apologies are often well grounded, an air of probity and goodneſs runs through the whole work; as thoſe qualities did in reality, embelliſh the whole life of the author."

This author's other objection is † his ſtories of *Ghoſts* and *Omens*, in which Lord Clarendon is very ſparing, and there are very few hiſtorians who have not ſome inſtances of this kind, as agreeable to the common notions of mankind; but as this author ſeems to point particularly at the caſe of ‡ Robert Grevile Lord Brook, who had prayed aloud that very morning; that if the cauſe he was engaged in, were not juſt and right, he might inſtantly be cut off, and was ſoon after ſhot in the eye in 1643, as he was ſtorming the church cloſe at Litchfield: "It is lamentable, ſays

* *Hume*, Vol. II. p. 127. † Vol. II. p. 29.
‡ Vol. I. p. 207.

ſays this author, that my Lord Clarendon ſhould relate gravely, many remarks of the populace on his death, in their language called judgments," and then ſeems to ridicule all obſervations of that kind, but ſays, if Lord Clarendon had mentioned this as an inſtance of Lord Brooke's ſincerity, it had been commendable.

Now Lord Brook either believed a particular Providence, or he did not.—If not, were not ſuch prayers hypocritical and profane.

If he did, may not others reaſonably believe ſo too, and that this was an inſtance of it.

I know neither divine or Chriſtian layman but who allows of particular Providences; am ſure his ingenious Mr. Hume mentions an inſtance of this nature, in the gunner who ſtaid alone in the ſhips employed againſt Rochelle, being killed there from the town; and that this occaſioned many reflections upon it through the kingdom.

And I never yet heard Sir Henry Spelman's hiſtory of ſacrilege condemned as weak or fooliſh, though it contains many things of this kind.

However I ſhall here inſert the thoughts of Dr. Sherlock, on the ſubject of Providence *: "Natural

* *Sherlock on Divine Providence*, p. 356.—8.

"Natural religion is founded on the belief of a God and a Providence, for if there be no God, there is no object of our worſhip, if there be no Providence, there is no reaſon for our worſhip;" and ſays, p. 73.

"I am ſure that the objections againſt a particular Providence are very fooliſh; again without believing God's government of all events, we deny a particular Providence. Moſt men will own a God and a Providence, yet as to particular events, take as little notice of God as if he had nothing to do in it; ſuch a belief of Providence as this is of no uſe at all in religion, it neither gives glory to God, nor has any influence upon the government of our lives; for without particular application of Providence to particular events, the general belief of a Providence, will, and can have no effect upon us."

But does Lord Clarendon conclude the juſtice of the king's cauſe, from the ſo remarkable death of the Lord Brooke; No, he leaves that, and a few more incidents of that kind, to the reader's own conſideration.

And are ſuch articles as theſe to be charged as criminal, in an hiſtorian of whom this author ſays *. That,

Like

* Vol. II. P. 19.

Like juſtice itſelf, he held the ballance between the mercenary power of the ſupreme magiſtrate and the intereſt of the people. This never dying obligation, his co-temporaries were taught to overlook and to clamour againſt, till they romoved the only man; who, if he could, would have corrected his maſter's evil government; he was accuſed of being at once an enemy and a friend to the Papiſts; and a little after, theſe I have mentioned, and almoſt every virtue of a miniſter make his character venerable. One may pronounce on my Lord Clarendon, in the double capacity of ſtateſman and hiſtorian, that he acted for liberty, but wrote for prerogative.

His majeſty and eloquence, his power of painting characters, his knowledge of his ſubject, rank him with the firſt claſs of writers.

CHAP. IV.

Of King James *and King* Charles I.

THIS gentleman falls foul on theſe Stuart kings; but what is of any great conſequence will fall under our conſideration when we conſider each of their conducts in particular, as kings;

kings; and therefore I ſhall here only take notice of what he objects to King James the Firſt's writings and ſpeeches, and alſo what he inſinuates about King Charles's book being wrote by a court prelate; and to that king's want of ſincerity. And as to King James's ſpeeches the ingenious Mr. Hume has theſe words;

"The * ſpeaker of the houſe is commonly an eminent man, yet the harangue of his majeſty we always find ſuperior to that of the ſpeaker in every parliament during his reign."

And yet it is that king's ſpeeches that this author particularly cenſures;—ſo great is his malice or ſo weak is his judgment.

Mr. Hume ſpeaks more of his ſpeeches and writings, and in defence of them, p. 10, and 141, where the reader may ſee his thoughts of King James as a writer.

King Charles

And in relation to King Charles's ſincerity, this ſame author has the following words: "Some hiſtorians † have raſhly queſtioned his good faith; but for this reproach the moſt malignant ſcrutiny of his conduct, which in every circumſtance is now thoroughly known, affords not any reaſonable foundation: on the contrary, if we conſider the extreme

* Vol. I. p. 41. † *Hume*, Vol. I. p. 469.

extreme difficulties, to which he was ſo frequently reduced, and compare the ſincerity of his profeſſions and declarations, we ſhall avow that probity and honour ought juſtly to be placed among his moſt ſhining qualities."

We may here ſee the difference between Mr. Hume and this author; who though they ſeem to agree in the ſame looſe principles, yet the former preſerves a regard for truth and decency, whilſt the latter ſeems not to regard the one or the other.

As to the *Icon Baſilike*'s being of King Charles's writing, nothing but ignorant malice could make the leaſt doubt about it; ſo I ſhall only here inſert the words of Dr. Smollet, who ſays *; "The ſtile of this book is ſtrong, elegant, and perſpicuous; and it abounds with ſuch manly ſentiments of piety and good ſenſe, as reflect unfading honour upon the memory of the Royal Author; his enemies not contented with having deprived him of life, endeavoured to rob him of the reputation of having written this performance, which they aſcribed to Dr. Gawden; but the *Icon* is ſo much ſuperior in ſtile, matter, and compoſition, to all the productions of this author, that every reader of diſcernment muſt perceive the abſurdity of the imputation." To which I ſhall add the words

* Vol. V. 8vo.

words of the moſt eloquent writer of the age, who ſpeaking of King Charles's character has the following words:

I * might alledge his ſpeeches, his conferences, his perſonal treaties, his converſation, his immortal writings, all compoſed in his greateſt diſtreſſes; ſome near the very ſight of the ſcaffold. They tell us, that when Cæſar ſwam for his life, amidſt his enemies, he had ſuch preſence of mind, as to ſwim with one hand, and in the other to hold up his own book, and ſave it from periſhing. But when the king was encompaſſed with far greater inevitable dangers, he not only preſerved, but wrote that *book*, to which amongſt all the writings of princes, I know none equal, but Cæſar's, if his; none ſuperior, but David's and Solomon's.

CHAP. V.

Of Horatio Walpole, Eſq;

AFTER examining the moſt material cenſures of this author on our kings, and the principal of the nobility, it may not be improper to enquire a little into his own principles, and thoſe

* *Bp. Sprat's Sermons*, p. 72.

thoſe of the patriots and heroes he celebrates; by a ſhort view of which and of their conduct, we may form a judgment what the church, the crown, and the nation may expect, ſhould ſuch principles and practices again prevail, and the profeſſors of them meet with the ſucceſs they deſire and eagerly pant after.

Now this gentleman in ſeveral places ſeems to ſpeak with approbation of the *right* of *the next of blood* to the Britiſh throne. For he mentions * Henry the VIIth's mother ceding her NO right to the crown to him; and argues in the ſame manner † againſt the right of the Lady Jane Gray to the crown; and in another place ſays ‡, the houſe of Lancaſter had uſurped the throne of King Richard and his right heirs, and points at the ſame in ſeveral other places, and calls the riſing againſt Queen Mary a rebellion, when he ſpeaks of Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, whom he calls father of him who fell in a rebellion againſt Queen Mary .

But in his notes on Lord Holles's writings § he ſeems to declare plainly for a commonwealth; his words are, " It is in vain for a man to pre-

 tend

* Vol. II. p. 175. † *Ibid.* p. 181. *Note.*
‡ *Ibid.* I. p. 58. ‖ *Ibid.* I. p. 103.
§ *Ibid.* II. p. 31.

tend to democratic principles, who prefers a monarchy to the conſtant, natural, and neceſſary conſequences of a commonweaith." Speaks ſeverely of monarchy in ſeveral places, generaly repreſents kings as tyrants, and the Whigs as the beſt patrons of liberty, and the trueſt promoters of the intereſt of their country.

How far theſe gentlemen are the one or the other, or whether they be not for a commonwealth, may be eaſily ſeen by only looking into the tranſactions of his glorious monarch, who ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne * ſaw cauſe enough to diſlike the heat he found among them, who expreſſed much zeal for him, but who ſeemed at the ſame time to have with it a great mixture of republican principles; for many of the Whigs were republicans, and oppoſed the fixing a revenue on him, and hoped that would make the king ſtand upon a precarious footing, and that † *ſo uncertain a tenure might more eaſily bring about an entire change of government*; and Wildman and all the republican party oppoſed (the Hanover ſucceſſion) their ſecret reaſon ſeemed to be, a deſign to extinguiſh monarchy ‡. And we find he ſoon thought that he need not truſt the Tories, and he reſolved not to truſt the Whigs ‖; and in

* *Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times.* Vol. IV. p. 5.
† *Ibid.* p. 23. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 29. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 74.

in 1693 we find the Whigs much turned * againſt the king; but when they got into poſts † they loſt their credit by being for the army, and were charged with robbing the public, and they after ſtand charged in theſe words ‡ by one of the greateſt of them: "In the three laſt ſeſſions the Whigs had ſhewed ſuch a readineſs to give the king more forces, together with a management to preſerve the grants of Ireland, that they were publicly charged as betrayers of their country, and as men that were for truſting the king with an army: in a word, they were accuſed of too ready a compliance with the humours and intereſts of courts and favourites, ſo they were generally cenſured and decried." And the ſame author tells us; Somers had always agreed || with the Whigs, and had ſtudied to bring them to better thoughts of the king, and to a greater confidence in him, and that he was chancellor in 1693 and continued ſo till 1700.

Now though this ſeems ſufficient to ſhow what friends patriots ſo principled are to monarchy, yet ſince that form of government is *yet* eſtabliſhed, and that *hereditary* too, I hope at leaſt to be excuſed the further pointing out what enemies this

* *Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times.* Vol. IV. p. 226.
† *Ibid.* p. 400. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 488.
|| *Ibid.* p. 206.

gentleman and thoſe of his own perſuaſion are to the monarchical government, and that from his own words.

Now this gentleman's grand principle is, That the patriots (i. e. whoever pleaſe to call themſelves ſo) may *oblige* the king to make what alterations they ſhall think proper, for what they pleaſe to call the liberty of the people and good of the nation; and if the king refuſes they may oppoſe him.

And ſpeaking of King Charles I. he has the following words *: "The putting to death that ſovereign could by no means be the guilty part of their oppoſition; if a king deſerves to be oppoſed by force of arms, he deſerves death. If he reduces his ſubjects to that extremity, the blood ſpilt in that quarrel lies on him; the executing him afterwards is mere formality." There are ſeveral other places to much the ſame purpoſe.

And if this gentleman's father was for the ſame *king-killing* principles (which cannot be much doubted) inſtead of holding his poſt of prime miniſter at the will and pleaſure of the king; the king ought to be on his good behaviour to him, as holding his crown and dignity, and life too at the will and pleaſure of the prime miniſter.

I ſhall

* Vol. II. p. 69.

I ſhall not charge all the Whigs with holding theſe pernicious principles; but when men will deviate from ſtrict truth and good principles, it is hard to ſet bounds to error, or ſtop in a courſe of wickedneſs.

But this being a matter of the greateſt conſequence I ſhall proceed to examine the argument this author and others offer to proof the lawfulneſs of doing a thing from the *expediency of it*, or from its being thought for the public good.

CHAP. VI.

In which the Argument of Expediency is conſidered.

NOW the argument for juſtifying the lawfulneſs of doing a thing, becauſe it appears convenient or expedient, that it ſhould be done; though weak and wicked in itſelf, and every way attended with fatal conſequences; yet, ſince it has been conſecrated by the moſt eminent Whig writers, as their great palladium, I ſhall give it that conſideration, which it would otherwiſe very little deſerve.

For whoever claims any right, it lies on him to prove by what authority he inſiſts on having ſuch a right, it being a known rule in arguing,

Affirmanti incumbit probatio,
He that affirms ought to prove.

And it was before ſhewed, that no law of our country could be produced to juſtify a right of doing a thing, becauſe it might be expedient to do it.

And then this alone would put the proof on the aſſerter's of ſuch a right; and bring it to a ſhort and concluſive iſſue againſt them.

However, I will conſider this important point of *expediency creating* a right ſo much inſiſted on by this author both as it is in its *own nature*; and as it is in its *conſequences*.

And as to the firſt, or the nature of it, whether we conſider it according to our natural notions of right and wrong, according to the common rules of juſtice in the world, or according to the Chriſtian doctrine by which we hope to be ſaved, it will every way prove unlawful and indefenſible.

For

For if there be any ſuch thing as right and wrong, then the one cannot become the other, without deſtroying that very difference in them which we ſuppoſe and affirm there, really is.

And ſuch a way of arguing, would totally deſtroy the eternal difference or relation of things one to another, which has been ſo highly cried up of late, and ſo warmly urged by many modern celebrated writers, and preferred to the poſitive inſtitutions of God himſelf.

And the known cenſure paſſed on the adjudger of the great coat to the great boy, and the leſſer to the leſſer boy, becauſe more convenient to both, ſhews, how contrary ſuch a proceeding is to the common notions of mankind. And indeed,

It will alſo contradict all our notions of common juſtice or faith amongſt mankind; for if a man has a right to do what is moſt convenient or expedient for him, there is an end of all juſtice and ſecurity in the common intercourſe of mankind, every man may do what is right in his own eyes, over-reach and ſeize the effects of others, when he has a convenient opportunity, and the ſame way of proceeding will equally prevail among nations.

And

And if we conſider the Chriſtian doctrine, as to this point, the great Apoſtle is very poſitive, that their damnation is juſt, who do evil that good may come of it.

Now the only argument that I think can be offered to juſtify ſuch a proceeding of thoſe patriots as this author inſiſts, is to ſay,

That it is not an evil or forbidden, but what they may lawfully do.

But this will bring us back again to the queſtion, whether our conſtitution allows any ſuch a proceeding, or not, which has been fully conſidered before.

But this will no way affect what is abovementioned, in relation to our common notions of right and wrong, and the doctrine of the great Apoſtle.

And as to any neceſſary, natural, or implied right drawn from the nature of man, or from the nature of government to juſtify ſuch a proceeding, as this author and others ſet up as their great *Diana*; the weakneſs of it will evidently appear on a little ſerious conſideration of this matter.

For

For from whatſoever original government is derived, whether from divine *appointment*, the *paternal authority*, or from *original contract* (which a learned manager was pleaſed nonſenſically, to call an *eternal truth*) it will at laſt come to the ſame as to the point under our preſent conſideration.

Now I am not willing to think, that there are many who own the *divine original of government*, who will pretend to juſtify the reſiſting *ſuch a right*; though the perverſe Jews of old were not content with the government of God himſelf; and ſome more perverſe moderns, (I will not ſay, they are either Jews or Chriſtians, but I may certainly ſay, they are thorough-pac'd Whigs) who have the aſſurance to ſet up the *Horeb contract* in open defiance of the right, both of their God and their king.

Such monſters of mankind do not deſerve any particular ſerious anſwer to ſuch infidel and abſurd pretenſions; but whatever appearance of argument on this head, is to be found in their works, will fall under the conſideration of *contract* after mentioned.

And as to thoſe who found government on *paternal authority*, if they will allow ſuch authority

thority to be eſtabliſhed by the divine appointment, or by the *law of nature, or both*, then that authority or government cannot be reſiſted, without oppoſing the divine appointment, or the eſtabliſhed law of nature, which obligation of the law of nature, Abp. Tillotſon in the caſe of a mother's nurſing her child inſiſts to be much ſtronger than any poſitive inſtitution of the Almighty, and certainly the *natural law* of the obedience of children to their parents, is as well, or better founded than that which obliges mothers to nurſe their own children; and then I think the reſiſting ſuch a paternal authority cannot well be maintained, eſpecially by any of thoſe much celebrated moderns, who have taken ſuch pains to eſtabliſh the laws of nature, and to fix them on no leſs a foundation than the *eternal difference of things*.

Mr. Phipps obſerves, that one of the learned managers ſaid, that in reſpect to the patriarchal right, it is a doctrine as old as Adam, and I will not, ſays he, pretend to carry it further.

Sacheverel's Trial, p. 153.

And to ſay, there is an obedience due to parents by the *law of nature*, and yet that there is no ſuch obligation due from children to them, is a plain contradiction.

And

And I preſume ſuch a paternal authority ſo eſtabliſhed, is irreſiſtible, whereever there is no ſuperior lawful authority which controlls it, and where it has not been given up.

Several inſtances of which we have both in Scripture and hiſtory, and there the great civil law-maxim of *its being lawful for any man to renounce his own right*, will ſcarce admit of a diſpute *, and it is certain, that many parents have done it.

But if there be any who can be ſo weak as to imagine, that the authority of a parent can be founded on a contract with his children; ſuch a wild pretence appears manifeſtly inconſiſtent in itſelf: but if there was ſuch an agreement between parents and children, this will fall under the conſideration of *contract*, which is the next point to be conſidered.

Now if government be founded on *contract only*, then there can be no ſuch *natural born allegiance* due as our laws have inſiſted on, and now do; and for which ſo many perſons have been executed in every reign, even in that of King William, as well as thoſe ſince, for being in the ſhips of

* *Quilibet poteſt renunciare juri pro ſe introducto.*

of, or fighting for our enemies againſt their *natural born allegiance*; of which alſo we have too many recent inſtances to need any naming of particulars.

But if there be no ſuch allegiance by nature due, how can the executing perſons for acting againſt it be juſtified; eſpecially of ſuch of them who never entered into any contract with the government, and who have openly long-lived under and as ſubjects to the governors of other nations.

And if theſe gentlemen ſay there is ſuch a natural allegiance due by being born here, then there is an end of their founding the allegiance due to government on *contract*, which is ſo much inſiſted on by the Whigs.

For to ſay a duty ariſes from nature, and that it ariſes from contract, muſt appear very odd; for though a contract may add to the obligation of a natural duty, yet the natural law would ſtill oblige, though there was no additional obligation at all by contract.

And whereever ſuch a natural allegiance, as here mentioned, is allowed to be due, it will properly bring all the ſubjects of ſuch a nation under the head of their government, being founded on paternal

paternal authority, which has been before conſidered.

But ſuppoſing government is neither founded on divine appointment, nor on paternal authority, and that there is no ſuch natural allegiance due, as we hang ſo many for breaking; and that the whole government is founded on a *contract* between the governors and governed; which is the general notion of the Whigs.

Now it is plain that ſuch a contract could not oblige any, but thoſe who were parties to it, or thoſe who claim under them.

For to ſay ſuch a contract ſhall oblige thoſe who are no ways parties to it, is to deprive them of their natural rights, and to ſubject their lives, liberties, and properties to the will of thoſe they may juſtly deteſt and abhor; which is certainly eſtabliſhing tyranny to the laſt degree.

And to ſay ſuch an authority is right and to be obeyed becauſe it is eſtabliſhed, that would be to juſtify every ſucceſsful rebellion, uſurpation, or revolution which happens to be crowned with ſucceſs, which ever has been or ever can be: and whoever can allow of a government ſo founded, cannot diſpute that of the Stuarts, which certainly was well eſtabliſhed by all the ſtrongeſt laws

which

which could be well contrived. Now very few will openly juſtify ſuch uſurpations as above-mentioned, though their principles may naturally lead to it.

But ſhould we wave all theſe difficulties, and ſay that our government is founded on a *contract* between the king and the people, and that this contract is obligatory on both the parties, and on all claiming under them.

Now if the contractors, on the peoples part, had a right to give and actually did give the crown all the rights and prerogatives the Stuarts claimed, then they can have no right to reſume thoſe rights they had yielded to the crown, or to force or oblige the crown to give them up again.

And it is affirmed by Mr. Hume, that the crown had been long in poſſeſſion of all the rights in diſpute; and when any of the Whigs can produce any original contract, I believe it will be found much more in favour of the prerogative of the crown, than of the liberties of the people.

But if it be pretended that too much was then given to the crown, and that therefore the people may reſume whatſoever they judge expedient.

Now

Now this would be directly contrary to the contract, and lay the foundation for every man's vacating any part of any contract whatever he has entered into; which would deſtroy all faith in commerce, and put an end to the mutual honeſty, juſtly to be expected in the dealings of all mankind.

And ſhould the crown, under the like pretence of its having granted too much liberty to the people, reſume the privileges it has granted, all true churchmen, patriots and real lovers of their country, would oppoſe ſuch a reſumption by all juſtifiable methods; whatever the Whigs would do, when poſſeſſed of the royal favour, or of their dearly beloved commonwealth, in which caſes we are always told, that *oppoſition* is *rebellion*, and that *tyranny* they exerciſe, is abſolutely neceſſary for their own preſervation, and conſequently juſtifiable.

And in whatever light we view theſe popular ſchemes of government, or methods of mending that which is eſtabliſhed at the will and pleaſure of theſe republican patriots, or framers of this authors ſeeming beloved democracy *, under the ſpecious pretence of expediency; ſuch amendments and ſchemes will on a ſtrict examination, appear to be built on a ſandy, weak, or wicked foundation.

CHAP.

* Vol. II. p. 30. *Note.*

CHAP. VII.

In which the Conſequences of Expediency giving a Right is conſidered.

NOW the abſurdity and fallacy of this way of arguing will probably appear in the ſtrongeſt light, and moſt convincingly, when applied in other inſtances.

Now ſuppoſing ten thouſand wiſe and good men are ſatisfied that the abridging the pretended privileges of a certain *great body*, and the retrenching the exorbitant juriſdiction of a certain *great court*, would be very advantageous for ſecuring their liberties and properties, and be very *expedient* and *convenient* for the nation in general.

Will that *expediency* or *good end* juſtify theſe perſons in *forcing* or *obliging* the aboliſhing of the one or the other?

Again:

Suppoſe a million of ſenſible perſons and true lovers of their country think the immenſe debts contracted, and exorbitant taxes laid on them by your great relation, are much to their prejudice, and to that of the whole nation, and what

by

by the principles of your Whig patriots might be called tyrannical.

Is it therefore lawful for them to blot out the former, and refuse the payment of the latter.

I do not believe you can name any one Whig willing to lead the way.

Again,

Suppose two millions of tenants and labourers should think the land owners usurpers on their *natural rights*, and to be real tyrants,—and that it would be very convenient and consequently right for them to enjoy the whole fruits of their labour, on the lands they cultivate,—and should offer the argument of a modern poet, (which with many will weigh more than that of an old apostle, to justify this their claim in the following lines. *

What nature wants, commodious gold bestows,
'Tis thus we eat the bread another sows;
But how unequal it bestows observe,
'Tis thus we riot, while who sow it starve;
—And if we count among the needs of life,
Another's toil, why not another's wife.

* Epistle to lord Bathurst.

And will ſuch an undoubted conveniency to the tenants, and ſuch a piece of ſophiſtry in the *poet*, juſtify the diſpoſſeſſing of all the landlords in the kingdom, and the ſpreading confuſion and deſolation over the three nations.

And whoever will conſider this *natural* claim of the tenants, and this artful ſophiſtry of the poet, and give them a ſerious and ſatisfactory anſwer, he will at the ſame time confute all the arguments drawn from the laws of nature, the expediency of the thing, or from the pretence of publick good, to juſtify reſiſtance, or to oblige their governors to an *amendment* or alteration of the laws, unleſs ſuch their attempt be founded on ſome law of the ſociety, and according to the conſtitution.

Again, if we conſider this argument of expediency, or doing *ill* that *good may come of it* in religious affairs: it will appear as full of abſurdities and pernicious conſequences there, as it does in temporals.

For if it be once admitted, that one religious body may *forcibly* compel the government to eſtabliſh them contrary to the laws of the conſtitution.—Then every other religious party has equal right to compel the government to eſtabliſh them.—And then no government can be ſafe an hour, nor the world ever enjoy any peace, where ſuch principles prevail and are put in practice.

For

For the Preſbyterian and Independent, the Papiſt and churchman, the Jew and the Mahometan muſt fight it out, and all the Scotch, German, and Turkiſh perſecutions; however *abhorrent* to *human nature*, and the peaceable religion of Chriſt would appear juſtifiable in prudence and policy, and be good by this their undoubted claim of expediency. For every perſon and party of any ſect of religion of any ſort would with equal juſtice apply this argument of expediency to their own dear ſelves, and againſt others, which muſt neceſſarily occaſion endleſs wars and confuſions.

To ſuch abſurdities and inconveniencies as theſe, both in church and ſtate, will this argument of concluding from the expediency of a thing, to a *right of doing it*,—neceſſarily tend, and involve mankind in.

It will therefore be neceſſary to fix on ſome other rule to guide the ſubjects, aud ſecure the peace and government of every nation, and promote the general good of mankind, which will be the ſubject of the following chapter.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

CHAP. VIII.

What the Rule *we ought to go by is,—with more Obſervations about Lord* Falkland.

NOW I take it to be very clear, that ſince property and laws have been eſtabliſhed, that the plain rule in affairs of this nature is,

That the laws of every country muſt be the rule of the ſubject's obedience.

For all obligation muſt ariſe from ſome law which exacts our obedience to it. *

And conſequently,

It is not lawful for any perſon or perſons whomſoever to *force* or *oblige* any *alteration* or *amendment* of the laws of his country, unleſs he or they be one way or other authoriſed ſo to do, by the laws of his country.

For

* Lord chief baron, gentlemen, let me tell you what our *law* books ſay, for there's the ground, out of which, (and the ſtatutes together) we muſt draw all our concluſions for matter of government. Trial of regicides, p. 10.

For the two following propoſitions ſeem very clear.

Firſt, that there muſt be an unlimited and uncontroulable power lodged ſomewhere in every government. *

And ſecondly that it is not lawful to reſiſt ſuch a ſupreme power on any pretence whatſoever. †

The truth of the former of which is evident from the nature of government, ſince if any are to command, others muſt obey, elſe there can be no government; for they cannot all govern each other mutually, for then every one would be independent on the other, and there neither would be governors nor governed.

And to ſay the Supreme Power in a nation may be *reſiſted*, is to ſay, that it is not the Supreme power; for there is another power ſuperior to it, which may controul it, which is a plain contradiction: and conſequently the ſupreme power wherever it is lodged is not to be reſiſted.

Now theſe two truths equally concern all ſorts of government, whether *hereditary* or elective *monarchies*,

* Defence of the four illuſtrious Stuarts, p 3.

narchies, or *commonwealths*; ſince wherever the ſupreme power is lodged in any of them, that power is there *irreſiſtible*.

The careful obſerving of which would prevent many of our diſputes about the lawfulneſs of reſiſting the ſupreme power; for very few who underſtand this will diſpute whether the *ſupreme power* be *irreſiſtible*, though they juſtly may; whether ſuch, or ſuch a power in a nation be truly the *ſupreme* power, for theſe are different queſtions.

I am ſure archbiſhop Tillotſon aſſerts this rule in ſubſtance in one of his ſermons, in as ſtrong words as can be imagined, and in his letter to the dying lord Ruſſell, inſiſted on the neceſſity of the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, and preſſed the duty of it in our conſtitution by arguments drawn from law, reaſon and religion, to which no ſatisfactory anſwer hath ever been given, which I have ever ſeen or heard of, or do I believe any can.

Biſhop Burnet preſſed the ſame doctrine on the ſame dying lord as neceſſary for his ſalvation, and preached and publiſhed the ſame in the higheſt terms with great ſtrength of reaſon and religion.

And tho' this gentleman ſpeaks very ſlightly of this biſhop, on account of the wretchedneſs of his ſtyle in ſome

ſome of his letters *, and the pains he took to clear himſelf *from the ſuſpicion of his being a Whig.* Yet his capacities are not to be queſtioned, which he ſo many years devoted entirely to the good old cauſe, had he tempered his great zeal with a little diſcretion or any tolerable ſincerity, he would not have lived to ſee himſelf found a *falſe prophet* in threatning queen Anne with fire and faggots ſo ſoon in Smithfield, if the throne of Spain was continued in the houſe of Bourbon, and both living and dead he ſtigmatized with the odious character of a noted want of ſincerity.

If the authority of theſe biſhops ſhould have no great weight with this gentleman, or his ſort of patriots, yet I am well aſſured the arguments urged in the ſermons of the one, and the letter of the other to lord Ruſſel, will bear the teſt of the ſtricteſt examination, and remain unanſwerable by the Whigs, unleſs they can get a new ſet of laws, or procure a new goſpel.

And if the rule before mentioned be true, then lord Falkland certainly did right in oppoſing the king no longer than he thought lawful, and that it was his bounden duty to join the king when he found

* Note to p. 135.

Hampden and his crew endeavouring to deprive him of the juſt right he had by law. And if lord Falkland be juſtly liable to cenſure for this, ſo are lord Stafford, lord Clarendon and many others, who all once oppoſed the king, tho' they afterwards turned to his ſide, and many ſuffered for his cauſe.

And this will in ſubſtance anſwer moſt of thoſe odd queſtions this gentleman aſks in relation to this lord's conduct,—and a greater degree of weakneſs will ſcarce be met with than in this author's—*repeating that it was great weakneſs to oppoſe a prince, for breaking the law, and yet ſcruple to oppoſe him when he obſtructs the correction of it.* What!—Is there no difference between oppoſing a man who comes to take my right — and my offering violently to take away his?

If a thief comes to rob me, I may certainly oppoſe him; but that will not juſtify my robbing of him.

And whoever cannot, or will not ſee and own the difference between theſe two, muſt certainly be either very deficient in his capacities, or very diſhoneſt in his heart.

This author is indeed ſo good as to aſſure us, that lord Falkland was a *ſincere Proteſtant*, and very wiſely

wiſely aſks,—*would he have taken up arms againſt king Henry VIII. for adding new nonſenſe to eſtabliſhed Popery, and would he not have fought to obtain a reformation ?*

It is hard to ſay what a dead man would have done.

But I think it is very eaſy to collect from what has been before mentioned, what any man ought to have done,—for I am very ſure the proteſtant *church* of England never juſtified the lawfulneſs of rebellion for the ſake of a reformation in religion.—It has not ſo learned Chriſt ! and the Preſbyterians diſclaim it too.

Such odious doctrines as theſe are generally charged as derived from, and practiſed by the worſt ſort of Papiſts, tho' they are now ſo warmly eſpouſed by, and become the teſt of a true Whig, whether Proteſtant or nothing is not very material.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve that the reformation of religion both after Henry VIII. and queen Mary were obtained without practiſing any rebellious principles : and I am well aſſured that the dreadful conſequences flowing from ſuch principles and practiſes of ſome proteſtants, have greatly diſcouraged many learned foreigners from preſſing for a reformation, for fear of the diſorders and confuſions

ſufions they may occaſion there, as they have done in Germany and other places.

Another queſtion this gentleman is pleaſed very wiſely to aſk, is——

Whether lord Falkland did think that loſs of liberty, or loſs of property are not evils, but when the laws of the land allows them to be ſo?

And here I dare venture to ſpeak for lord Falkland, and every man in his ſenſes, that they would think ſuch loſſes *evils*.

For undoubtedly,--If a man be robbed and tied to a tree, ſuch a loſs of liberty and property would certainly be evils,—and theſe evils are not allowed by the law of the land?

And if this ſagacious gentleman has any very profound meaning in this extraordinary queſtion, out of the reach of a common underſtanding to find out, he will do well to get ſome of his abler friends to explain it for him, for it ſeems out of the compaſs of his capacity to write any thing clear about ſubjects of this nature.

After this juſtification of this noble lord, I hope it will not be thought amiſs, to give his character as drawn by doctor Smollet, who cannot now be thought influenced by friendſhip or party, as this author

author would inſinuate lord Clarendon was, and the doctor refers both to enemies and friends for the truth of it. *

The theme of univerſal lamentation was the death of the great, the good, the amiable Lucius Cary, lord viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, the darling of the muſes, the patron of learning and merit, the mirrour of integrity: (he then mentions his oppoſing the crown at firſt, and after eſpouſing the cauſe of his ſovereign, and adds,)—He was deeply concerned at the miſeries of his country, and would frequently cry out peace, and eagerly forwarded every overture of an accommodation, neglected the neatneſs he had uſually practiſed, but as if he had foreſeen his fate, then beſtowing extraordinary pains upon his apparel; ſaying, the enemy ſhould not find his *body in a ſlovenly condition.*—And concludes, "this is one of the moſt finiſh'd characters upon record, and his death the more lamentable, as he died in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age.

And if this lord's behaviour be not perfectly agreeable to his duty as an Engliſhman, a ſubject, a tender lover of his country, and of a Chriſtian, it will be hard to know what is, and conſequently, neither he, nor lord Clarendon are liable to the leaſt cenſure, as to his character or conduct.

CHAP.

* Clarendon, Ruſhworth, Whitlock.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Earl of Shaftſbury.

THERE are three noblemen ſo remarkable for their parts and power, and the ill uſe they made of them during the reigns of Charles II. James and William, that it is a piece of neceſſary juſtice to ſet them and their actions in a proper light; by which we may ſee to whom the miſcarriages of Charles and James are to be charged, and from whom the hardſhips we now labour under derived their origin.

For after the death of the great earl of Southampton, the baniſhment of the earl of Clarendon, and the ſending the duke of Ormond to Ireland; of all whom we may truly ſay what is ſpoke of the laſt *. That they were noblemen whoſe accompliſhments made them the *delight*, and whoſe virtues the admiration of their country, who had ſouls, "that "neither place, power nor example could cor-"rupt." Who were ever ſteadfaſtly loyal to their king; and equally firm to the liberties, and *true intereſt* of their country.

Soon

* Hume, Vol. 2. p. 200.

Soon after this the whole ſecret of affairs was entruſted to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. Theſe men were known by the appellation of the cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe. This incident ſerved with the people to propagate the appellation. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious councils.

Lord Aſhley, ſoon after known by the name of earl of Shaftſbury; was the chief ſpring of all the ſucceeding movements,—reſtleſs, turbulent, factious; no ſtation could ſatisfy his ambition, no fatigues were inſupportable to his induſtry. Well acquainted with the blind of parties, he ſurmounted all ſenſe of ſhame; and relying on the ſubtlety of his contrivances, he was not ſtartled with enterprizes the moſt hazardous, and moſt criminal.

And to do Mr. Walpole juſtice he tells us: † "that a great weight of the (crimes of the times of Charles II.) fell to the ſhare of the lord in queſtion, who had canted tyranny under Cromwel, practiſed it under Charles II. and who diſgrac'd the name of liberty, by being the buſieſt inſtrument for it, when every other party rejected him.—He was rather a copious writer of faction than an author, for in no light

† Vol. 2. p. 46.

light can one imagine that he wiſhed to be remembered. And he certainly deſerved the character mentioned of him of being ‖ *the wickedeſt fellow in the king's dominions.*

‡ Mr. Hume obſerves that to this time, (1670) the king's councils had in the main been good, tho' negligent and fluctuating, but became then remarkably bad, for the cabal of which Shaftſbury was chief, promoted an alliance with France, broke the triple alliance which had been made to ſtop the growth of the French power, entered into a war with the Dutch, and endeavoured to recover the loſt authority of the crown, but even during theſe ſchemes, Hume owns that king Charles ‡ was not altogether without uneaſineſs on account of the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. However a Dutch war was entered into, and Shaftſbury as chancellor told the parliament, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, eſpecially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power.—That the ſtates being the eternal enemies of England, both by intereſt and inclination, the parliament had wiſely judged it neceſſary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda eſt Carthago*, this hoſtile government is by all means to be ſubverted:

He

‖ 56. § Hume Vol. 2. p. 109, 222. ‡ ib. p. 222.

He had alſo influenced the king to iſſue out two declarations to diſpenſe with the penal laws againſt the diſſenters, in defence of which power, the celebrated Mr. Lock wrote, and the diſſenters engaged their lives and fortunes to the crown, tho' they immediately after entered into meaſures to break the ſucceſſion, and dethrone king Charles then on the throne. And the chancellor iſſued out writs by his own authority for filling up the vacant members of the houſe of commons, which Hume obſerves, * no one but ſo deſperate a miniſter as Shaftſbury—could have entertained thoughts of,—or could have hoped to ſucceed in ſo bold an enterprize,

The commons loudly complained, (of the chancellors iſſuing out of writs under the broad ſeal for members) to ſit in their houſe as undue and irregular, even before their own ſpeaker was approved of by the king †,

Which occaſioned his majeſty immediately after to declare to them, that he had given order to the lord chancellour to ſend out writs for the ſupply of their houſe, having ſeen precedents for it. But if any ſcruple or queſtion did ariſe about it, he left it to the houſe to debate as ſoon as they could.

Ac-

* ib. 228. † Eachard, p. 888.

Accordingly the very next day the commons fell into warm and angry debates concerning thoſe writs and returns, which ended in voting them irregular, and turning out theſe members ſo elected, who were ſaid to be creatures of the chancellor. For this and other large ſteps, the country party began to mark him out for an impeachment, which is thought to be the chief reaſon of the ſudden turn of his lordſhip, which appeared within a ſhort time after.

It was before mentioned from Mr. Hume that the king did not like the growth of the French power, and he here yielded to the commons the right of iſſuing writs for electing their own members, and ſoon after ‖, at the requeſt of the commons, and deſire of the houſe of lords, the king ſent for the declaration (for liberty of conſcience,) *and* with *his own hands broke* the ſeals. The commons *expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his* majeſty. The king *aſſured them that he would willingly* paſs any law, offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their grievances. This was in 1673.

Shaftſbury on this, immediately turned to the other party, and endeavoured to atone for all his violences § in favour of monarchy, by like violences,

‖ Hume Vol. 2. p. 219. § ib. 250.

ees, in oppoſition to it, diſcovered, perhaps, magnified the arbitrary councils of the court, in which he himſelf had ſo deep a ſhare.

The cabal was ſoon after broke up, a new miniſtry made, and a peace concluded with the Dutch in 1674, to the *great joy of the people* *.

The commons after wanted to engage the king in a war with France, but would not give him ſupplies to do it, and he was fearful of his father's fate of being drawn into a war, and then ruined for want of aſſiſtance in it.

Shaftſbury all along ſpirited up jealouſies, and the old cry of *popery* and *arbitrary power* was ſpread thro' the nation, and the cry of a *plot* †, "all on a ſudden ſtruck their ears, and an univerſal panic being diffuſed, reaſon and argument, and common ſenſe, and common humanity loſt all influence over them."—To deny the reality of this plot was to be an accomplice, to heſitate was criminal ‖,—and yet our late hiſtorian ſays §, it were an idle taſk to detect the falſhood of an information, which contains ſuch a number of abſurdities, (as Oates does.) But the two houſes voted it a dangerous conſpiracy.

* Hume ib. p. 235. † ib. 275. ‖ ib. 283.
§ Smollet, 441.

The houſe of commons twice ſtrangely § reſolved that in defence of the king's perſon, and the proteſtant religion, this houſe doth declare that they will ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes, and that if his majeſty ſhould come by any violent death, (which God forbid,) they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the Papiſts.

Shaftſbury became the king's perpetual enemy, betrayed his councils, and threatned to walk him *out of the kingdom*; and form'd and carried on ſuch plots againſt the king and government, that we now ſtand amazed at, that they could find any credit, and yet the miſcreants concerned did find credit, and as the ſame hiſtorian ſays ‡, the conſpiracy was foſtered by a dangerous faction, to blow up the flames of diſcord through the kingdom. To anſwer this perfidious aim, they ſcrupled not to abuſe a whole people, to exaſperate them into a ſavage diſregard of truth and common juſtice, and to act ſuch acts of barbarity, as will remain upon record, as *an indelible ſtain upon the character of the nation.*

Oates was recommended to the king by parliament, protected by guards, accommodated with a penſion of 1200 *l.* and extolled as the ſaviour of the nation *.

And

§ Eachard, p. 977, and 999. ‡ Smollet, p. 471.
* ib. p. 441.

And Mr. Hume juſtly obſerves, that † tho' the catholics had been ſuddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the very moment, when their conſpiracy was (*ſaid to be*) ready to be put in execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commiſſions, no papers, no letters, after the moſt rigorous ſearch, were ever diſcovered, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedlo.—And even the manifold inconſiſtencies and abſurdities contained in the narratives—were conſidered as ſlight objections in all hiſtory, it *will be difficult to find ſuch another inſtance of popular frenzy and bigotted deluſion.*

Another hiſtorian ſays ‖, one might have denied Chriſt with leſs conteſt than the plot.—And he that could not ſwallow abſurdities, reconcile contradictions, and believe impoſſibilities, was an enemy to the *proteſtant religion*,; a *papiſt*, or *popiſhly affected*. He that queſtioned the leaſt tittle of the moſt monſtrous fictions about it was a concealer of the plot, and a defamer of the king's evidence. In fine, it was leſs criminal to doubt all the articles of chriſtianity, than that one of the plot, and to deny the ſaviour of the world than the *ſaver of the nation*, with which title they were modeſtly pleaſed to dignify (Oates), the Salamancha doctor.

† Hume Vol. 2. p. 288. ‖ Ralph. p. 387.

The ſame author adds §, there is ſtill another ſcene of wickedneſs which ought to be diſplayed, namely, the conduct and practices of the inquiſiters, (for ſo the ſecret committee of lords Buckingham, Shaftſbury, the biſhop of London, who ſat upon Godfrey's murder at Wallingford-houſe moſt righteouſly deſerve to be called,) on the hopes and fears of the ſeveral perſons, who during the rage of the plot, were ſummoned before them! All that could be done by threats or by promiſes, by circumvention, and even in ſome ſort by torture to find or make evidence they did; without any dread of ſhame, or ſenſe of remorſe. And the caſe of Atkins and others are there mentioned.

The liberty of the ſubject, ſays Mr. Hume ‡, guarded by the great charter, and the late law of Habeas Corpus, was every day violated by the arbitrary and capricious deciſions of the commons, in committing of perſons, which as it was carried on to extremes, and was abuſed to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction, great complaints were heard from all quarters. At laſt the vigour and courage of one Stowel of Exeter, an Abhorrer *, who as a grand jury

§ p. 528. ‡ Hume, Vol. 2. p. 320. * There were at this time many loyal addreſſes declaring their *abhorrence* of the incroachments offered to the prerogative then, were called Abhorrers. Hume 2. 317.

jury man had ſigned a loyal addreſs, and put an end to the practice. He refuſed to obey the ſerjeant at arms, ſtood upon his defence, and ſaid that he knew of no law, by which they pretended to commit him. The houſe finding it equally dangerous to proceed or recede, got off by an evaſion: They inſerted in their votes, that Stowel was indiſpoſed, and that a month's time was allowed him for his recovery.

By ſuch ways, arts and means was the conſpiracy promoted, and the bill to exclude the duke of York carried on; infinite numbers of perſons became ſufferers, many innocent lives were ſacrificed, and five lords at once impeached of high treaſon, and ſent to the Tower; and on the 30th of November 1680, the good lord viſcount Stafford, uncle to the duke of Norfolk already overwhelmed with old age and infirmities †, was brought to his trial before the peers, and made a noble defence againſt the evidence brought againſt him, and obſerved, "that through a courſe of forty years, he had preſerved his loyalty, in the midſt of danger, difficulty, and civil confuſion, and that it was not credible he ſhould now, in his old age, when broken with infirmities, renounce the eaſe and affluence he

† See the ſubſtance of his trial and defence, p. 469. Smollet's A. C. 618.

enjoy'd, to belye his former conduct, and engage in ſuch a villanous conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign, who had been always to him remarkably kind and indulgent.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his defence, the ſimplicity of his deportment, and his pathetick proteſtations of innocence, he was convicted of high treaſon, by a majority of four-and-twenty voices.

At the ſcaffold he declared himſelf innocent of the crimes laid to his charge in the moſt earneſt manner; diſavowed all the murdering and immoral principles imputed to the Roman Catholicks; and expreſs'd his hope that the publick would ſoon be undeceived, and do juſtice to his injured reputation. His laſt words on Tower-Hill were.—"God bleſs you all Gentlemen, God preſerve his majeſty, who is as good a prince as ever governed you; obey him as I have done, and God will bleſs you the more." And died with the ſpirit of a true Engliſhman, the dignity of a nobleman, and with the mildneſs and decency of a ſincere Chriſtian.

This was the laſt blood ſhed on account of that conſpiracy, which was invented by a few needy miſcreants for the purpoſe of raiſing themſelves from indigence and contempt, and carriedon, as Shaftſbury ſaid, to walk the king out of the nation, and to make

make his brother as great a vagabond on earth, as ever Cain was.

But the excluſion bill miſcarried, and the plot ſunk to nothing, and tho' Shaftſbury had engaged Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, Grey and others to riſe in arms againſt the king, yet being diſappointed in the moſt *deſperate ſchemes that blaſted ambition and revenge could dictate*, he ſkulked about for ſome time, and then fled to Amſterdam, where he died ſoon after, very little regretted, leaving lord Ruſſel and others ſacrifices to his wicked ſchemes, all which were ſanctified with the ſpecious names of *liberty* and the *Proteſtant religion*.

But tho' Shaftſbury ſaw not what he wiſhed, in relation to the king or duke, yet the perjured Oates and many of that infamous clan, as well as ſome in great ſtations, lived to enjoy great rewards of their wickedneſs after the revolution, and the abdication of the unfortunate king James.

And I cannot but take notice of a remark made by Mr. Hume, who obſerves *, that every thing the houſe did not like, (in Charles's time,) was ſtill aſcribed to the councils of Papiſts and their adherents. This expreſſion which occurs every moment in

* P. 320.

ſpeeches and memorials, and which at preſent is ſo apt to excite laughter in the reader; begot at that time the deepeſt conſternation thro' the kingdom.

But had not the ſame cry the ſame effect on the people in king Charles and king James the Second's reign, when the Wild Iriſh were to maſſacre the whole kingdom; and will it not have the ſame influence ſtill, when ever a party ſhall have a mind to ſet up the cry in oppoſition to any government they do not approve of.

CHAP. X.

Of the Earl of Sunderland.

NOW to do Mr. Walpole juſtice, he neither cenſures nor commends this lord *, only ſays, that having been loaded with variety of accuſations for the length he had gone in countenancing popery, to flatter king James, and with betraying him afterwards to the prince of Orange; he publiſhed a vindication of his conduct. Smollet ſays,—Sunderland †, ſacrificed his religion to his intereſt, though he would not *make a publick abjuration*—but it is very remarkable

* Vol. 2. p. 167. † Smollet 512.

able of this lord, that in James's time, a penitent bawd, and this humble repenting courtier were both admitted proſelytes to popery together, and in William's time the perjured Oates and the ſame courtier were admitted as particular favourites, the former rewarded for his villanies with a large penſion, and the latter, for his reward admitted to the greateſt degree of favour that ever that king ſhewed to an Engliſhman.

As to religion, I preſume Sunderland and Shaftſbury's to be much on a level, and both equal to that of a nobleman, who lived in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, and was always the ſame with that of the prince in poſſeſſion, and what is very remarkable, was always a very *zealous Profeſſor*.

King James made Sunderland lord preſident of the council, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and knight companion of the garter, and prime miniſter, during which time he is charged with adviſing him to every unpopular meaſure he took, betraying him at the ſame time to the prince of Orange, and artfully ſtirring up the nation againſt him. —To enter into every particular would be to go through all the miſcarriages of that unfortunate reign; ſo that we muſt add treachery and ingratitude to this lord's character,

racter more than many think can be properly applied to Shaftſbury's with all his crimes, the one indeed fell a ſacrifice to his own enormous crimes, the other ſtood long in the good graces of the gloomy monarch, and partook of his greateſt favours till his then crimes againſt the publick good, and the warmth of the houſe of commons was ſo great, and ſo juſt againſt him, that he thought fit to retire. *

Mr. Walpole mentions the great capacities of the late duke of Wharton, and his overreaching the prime miniſter in getting ſome ſecrets out of him about the biſhop of Rocheſter's caſe, which was to be heard the next day, and engaged to ſerve the miniſter againſt the biſhop,—then paſſed that night in drinking, and without going to bed, went to the houſe of lords, where he ſpoke *for the biſhop*, recapitulating in the moſt maſterly manner, and anſwering all that had been urged againſt him.

There is another ſtory of this duke which relating to this lord Sunderland, may not be diſagreeable to the reader.

When Knight the caſhier was conveyed abroad to ſcreen ſome things that were not proper to be publickly opened; the duke aſked Sunderland, whether

* Burnet, p. 396. 7. A. D. 1697.

ther Knight was ſent off in the king's coach, or in the Dutch ambaſſador's? Sunderland ſaid he would tell him, if his grace would anſwer him one queſtion;—the duke gave him his honour he would—— S——l——d aſked him what paſſed between him and the chevalier at ſuch a place? The duke anſwer'd,—we were juſt ſaying what a *fool* his father was, and what a *rogue* your's was.

CHAP. XI.

Of Lord Somers.

HAVING paid proper regard to this author, and his principles, we muſt not be wanting in a due reſpect to his Pallas, his great Patriot, and proteſtant ſaint, lord Somers, whom this gentleman is pleaſed to call * "one of thoſe divine men, who like a chapel in a palace remains unprofaned, while all the reſt is tyranny, corruption and folly."

And it appears in fact that he was the head of the Whigs, † and that the chief ſtrength of the party lay in his credit with the king, he holding the ſeals

* Vol. 2. p. 107. † Burnet, Vol. 4. p. 461.

ſeals the greateſt part of William's reign from 1693 to 1700, during which time he was the principal Engliſh miniſter and favourite of that monarch, and as this author is better acquainted with the wickedneſs of that reign than I can pretend to be; I will not diſpute the truth of what this author aſſerts, that all about him was *tyranny*, *corruption* and *folly*, tho' ſuch a cenſure will not add much to the glory of his *Proteſtant hero*.

But that we may not be miſled by *muſick of words*, *the art of an hiſtorian* *, or the cry of a party, we will enquire into the character and conduct of this lord, which will ſhew how well he deſerves the laviſh *encomiums* this author, and biſhop Burnet beſtow on him.

Now the firſt time he ſeems to be diſtinguiſhed, was on his being one, but the laſt of the counſel for the biſhops in king James's reign, in which there was little matter of law, but great room for popular harangue, their cauſe being much favoured, and the ſucceſs crowned with the general applauſe of the nation.

And if this lord had ſhared but a ſmall part of the virtues he is ſo much celebrated for, if he had had

* Vol. 2. 216.

had any religion, gratitude or goodneſs, any juſt regard for the liberties or lovers of his country, he would certainly have ſhewed ſome favour to thoſe biſhops, (who had been eſteemed patriots, and confeſſors,) when they were turned out to be ſtarved by that prince, who pretended to come hither to ſecure our liberties and protect our religion, eſpecially as there was a power reſerved by parliament to make a tolerable proviſion for them out of their biſhopricks.—

And can ſuch a neglect, of ſuch biſhops, by ſuch a perſon, in ſuch a ſituation as Somers was, be more favourably cenſured, than by being charged with a *criminal neglect*.

And if the then rulers had ſhewed ſome regard to the ſteady virtue and exemplary piety of that true lover of our liberties and religion, and ſufferer for them too, the pious biſhop Ken, they would have looked more like the defenders of the *faith*, than their behaviour in turning them out to be ſtarved did, eſpecially as he had been chaplain to the princeſs Mary in Holland, in which poſt his moſt prudent behaviour and ſtrict piety * gained him entire

* Life of biſhop Ken by William Hawkins Eſq; p. 7. A courtier uſed a lady ill, and being obliged by the laws of Holland to marry her, doctor Ken forced him to do ſo.

tire credit and high eſteem with that *princeſs*; but a conſequential act of his zeal for the honour of his country, in behalf of a young lady, ſo far exaſperated the *prince*, that he very warmly threatned to turn him from the ſervice, but he was not deterred by it.

This was not unknown to the king, (Charles II.) nor did he ſhew the leaſt diſlike to his behaviour, but named him to the ſee of Bath and Wells, ſaying, that Ken ſhould ſucceed, but that he deſigned it ſhould be from his own peculiar appointment.—

And this even juſt after his opinion, that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the houſe of a clergyman, eſpecially the king's chaplain.

For at that time the king coming to Winton, and his harbinger having marked the doctor's houſe, which he held in right of his prebend, for the uſe of Gwin, he abſolutely refuſed her *admittance*, and ſhe was forced to ſeek other lodgings.

His conduct at the time of the rebellion under the duke of Monmouth, had ſufficiently confirmed king James in opinion of his duty and allegiance; inſomuch, that tho' he daily relieved ſome hundreds of the rebel priſoners, then in Wells, daily praying with them in perſon, the *king* judging that it was only out

of

of a principle of duty to diſtreſſed brethren, to ſave them from periſhing both in body and ſoul, never ſo much as harboured any jealous thought of him *. His charity was ſo extenſive that he gave ſome thouſand pounds to the French proteſtants, though when he was deprived of all his goods, (except his book,) were ſold for ſeven hundred pounds.

The part he bore with other biſhops in relation to king James's *declaration* of liberty of conſcience, and their going to the tower, is elſe where mentioned.

Now whether the *profligate* Charles, or the *proteſtant hero*, (as this author calls them,) acted the *better part*; and whether James or William ſhewed moſt of the *tyrant*, let the *reader* judge.

The *good* queen Anne was glad he, (the biſhop,) would not refuſe her yearly favour, which ſhe was graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow upon him to his death in 1710, and as to any invitation of the prince of Orange to come hither, if any ſuch there ever was, if produced, it muſt not have been denied, but there are very ſtrong arguments to be urged, to ſhew that either he nor any of his ſuffering brethren had the leaſt hand in that matter.

But

* Ib. p. 113.

But to return to Lord Somers.—If we look *into the deathleſs monuments of his abilities and virtues*,——We ſhall find, that we are now ignorant of the titles of many of his pieces *, ſo little was *fame his object*,——ſays this author.——But may we not more juſtly conclude, that they either were not worth preſerving, or that his great admirers are much to be blamed for ſuffering them to be ſo entirely buried in oblivion, as not to have ſo much as their *titles* left in leſs than *half a century*.

But if we may judge of what is loſt by what this author ſuppoſes ſtill to remain, their not being preſerved, is the moſt advantageous thing in the world that could happen to his reputation, or for the publick good.

For can the worſt of his enemies charge a lord chancellor in a *chriſtian* country, with a blacker crime than the writing a preface to recommend one of the wickedeſt books againſt the church and chriſtianity itſelf, that ever was publiſhed †.

Of which book a very judicious author ſays, *that it is* condemned and *abhorrent* not only to every *chriſtian*, but to all who own a *God*, and gives the following reaſon for it. "For

* Vol. 2. p. 113. † Preface to doctor Tindal's rights of the chriſtian church.

" For it makes the authority of *God* to depend upon the *choice* of the *people*, and to be derived from it. For the *being* and the *authority* of, are *inſeperable* and equally *inderivative* from any other. And who deny his *authority*, *deny his being*, therefore the author of the book of the *rights*, and all the abettors if they ſpeak their minds, are not only *practical* but *ſpeculative* and *literary* atheiſts.

What other plans this Somers, wiſer than Solon or Lycurgus, may have formed, we know not, but this *plan* is plainly deſigned to aboliſh religion, and all obligations to common morality out of the world.

But to come to his political conduct, this author owns *, that he was not entirely juſtifiable in obtaining grants of crown lands, which, though in no proportion to other gains in that reign, yet it would have become him to have reſiſted, not to have countenanced by his example.

How would this author have rejoiced to have found ſuch an excuſe for a crime in lord Clarendon's hiſtory, as this he makes for lord Somers.— That though what he did was ill, yet there was

 much

* Vol. 2. p. 112, &c. Preface to Dr. Tindal's Rights of the Church.

much worſe then done, which is certainly true, and a very juſt and ſevere reflection both on the chancellor and his king, the one for ſo doing, and the other for ſilently ſuffering ſo much ill.

The biſhop, his other panegyriſt, ſays †, "He was indeed cenſured for nothing ſo much as for his being too compliant with the king's humour and notions, or at leaſt in being too ſoft and too feeble in repreſenting his errors to him;" and it will hereafter appear that no one could be more ſo than he was, except the great miniſter who could patiently bear a good kicking.

And if we view him in his conduct either as a ſtateſman or chancellor, we ſhall find him ſervile to the laſt degree, conſtantly concurring in every meaſure propoſed, and actively or paſſively criminal in every pernicious ſcheme.

Was he not active in promoting the exorbitant grants made by king William of the Iriſh eſtates after he had ſolemnly promiſed from the throne, that he would not do it without acquainting them firſt?

Was he not active in endeavouriug to defeat the endeavours of the Houſe of Commons to have thoſe grants

† Ib. p. 108. Note.

grants recalled, and thoſe eſtates applied towards the national debt?

Was he not active in promoting the keeping of a *ſtanding army*, then *odious to Engliſh ears?* And did he not promote the arbitrary directions left ſeal'd up by king William, to have an army of ſixteen thouſand men kept up?

Was he not criminally active about the two partition treaties made by king William, in ſending over blank powers ſealed by him, unknown to the council in England, by which that king might have granted away all *Wales*, as he had a great part of it to his Dutch favourites, or given away all our national intereſts of every kind, by which he did make treaties; by which treaties that king, the French and Dutch, unknown to the Spaniards, agreed to divide the Spaniſh monarchy as they pleaſed, at the death of the king of Spain: treaties the moſt unjuſt, impolitick and ſcandalous that ever were made; abhorred and deteſted by the Spaniards, and diſliked and condemned by every power in Europe but the contracting parties; and which put the Spaniards on throwing themſelves into the arms of France, in order to preſerve their monarchy entire; which treaties have ſince occaſioned ſuch laviſh expences of Britiſh blood and treaſure.

With what rage did king William reſent the French king's proclaiming the chevalier on the death of his father king James, though the French king declared he would not aſſiſt him againſt king William, and only intended it as a civil compliment to the deſcendant of a race of ſo many kings; and how criminal can this be thought in him when compared with William's agreeing to divide and diſpoſe of the Spaniſh monarchy without the privity of that nation, and after congratulating king Philip on his acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, by a letter under his hand at the ſame time he was forming alliances to dethrone him, which produced the following wars, ſo fatal to the quiet and intereſt of Great-Britain, the heavy expences of which the nation ſtill groans under.

This author owns a man may be criminally guilty in not oppoſing ill; and whoever will read the tranſactions of William's reign will plainly ſee that lord Somers was certainly ſo, both as a miniſter of ſtate, and as he was lord chancellor.

For, did he ever once oppoſe the exorbitant grants made by king William to lord Portland of ſuch prodigious Eſtates in Wales?

Did he ever oppoſe the maſſacre of *Glencoe*, where ſix thouſand were intended to be murdered in cold blood,

blood, after they had taken the oaths; or did he ever once forward the puniſhing the offenders?

Did he ever once oppoſe the giving up the Scotch intereſt at *Darien* to ſerve the intereſt of Spain?

Did not both the lords and commons cenſure the treaties he ſent blank powers for, as ſcandalous, and the latter impeach him for the part he acted therein, for the grants he had procured to himſelf, and for partiality and his ill behaviour as chancellor?

And is it not well known what arts were uſed to ſcreen him and others from publick juſtice, and how hardly the commons and the nations thought themſelves uſed in that affair; ſo that it occaſioned a great quarrel between the lords and the commons. Biſhop Burnet tells us *, the two houſes had gone ſo far in their votes againſt one another, *about the impeachments)* that it was believed they would never meet again—and the courtiers after tried if the old parliament would drop the impeachments; and when they were told, they would begin where they had left off, and would inſiſt on their impeachments †, they then called a new one.

As to the ruining and perſecuting the epiſcopal church of Scotland by the king, who came to preſerve the church and ſave the nation, we cannot ex-

* Vol. 5. p. 540. † Ib. p. 570.

expect either juſtice or favour to them from a man who could approve of Tindal's infamous book: however, this is a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of what biſhop Burnet ſays *, was ſpread over the nation, that the king and thoſe about him had no regard to religion nor to the church of England.

The truth of the ſubſtance of the facts above-mentioned cannot be diſputed by any one who knows the affairs of that reign, and the ſhare lord Somers bore in them, whoſe conduct will juſtify Dean Swift's character of him, however ſlightly this author ſpeaks of his work, the dean's words are †, "It was the practice of thoſe politicians to introduce ſuch men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from thoſe to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the perſon I am now deſcribing: I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preſerve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or geſture, which are in the higheſt degree courteous and complaiſant."— And to apply this author's words in his Preface we ſhall *find his high honours were the wages of ſervility, rather than rewards of true merit.* Such was the man whom this author prefers to lord Bacon and Clarendon.

But

* Vol. 4. p. 209. † Hiſt. of four years, p. 11.

But the dean's ſevere character of lord Somers will bear no proportion to that of this author's of that whole reign; for if lord Somers was ſo divine a man, and like a chapel in a palace remained unprofaned, in compariſon of the reſt about him, is it poſſible to form an idea of the monſtrous *tyranny, corruption and folly* of the reſt?

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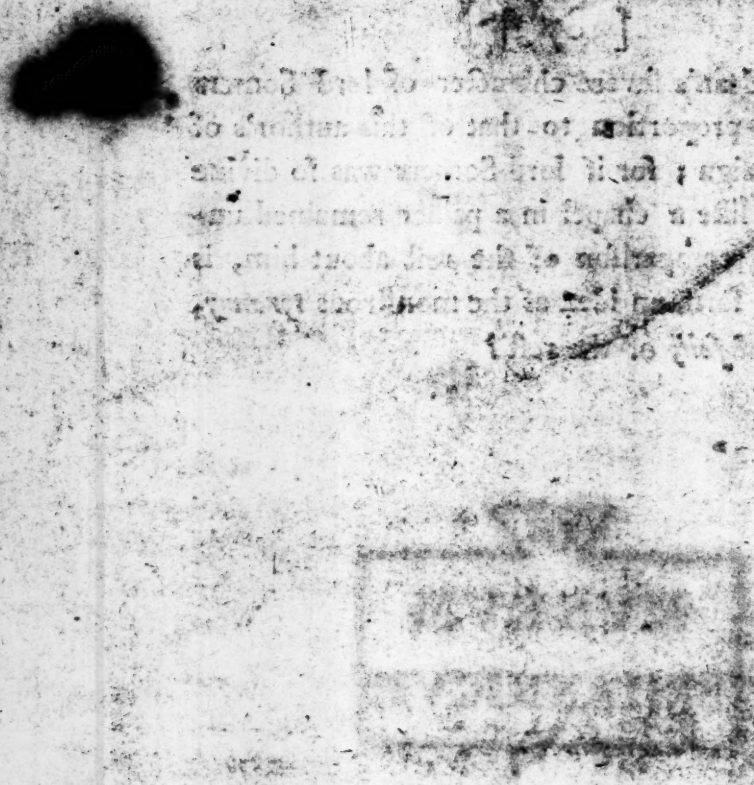
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